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# Peace News

The International Pacifist Weekly

No. 1,134 March 21, 1958 6d. US Air Mail Edition 10

## Fifteen speakers NAMED FOR Aldermaston march

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

AT A PRESS CONFERENCE in London on Wednesday the Aldermaston March Committee announced the following list of speakers for meetings during the four-day Easter March to Britain's nuclear weapons plant.

Trafalgar Square (Good Friday, 11 a.m.): Canon Collins, Philip Toynbee, Harold Steele, Michael Foot.

Heston and Isleworth Public Hall (Good Friday evening): Dr. Alex Comfort, Frank Alluaun, MP, Michael Tippett.

Maidenhead Town Hall (Saturday): Dr. Roper, John Berger, Manuela Sykes.

Reading Town Hall (Sunday): Ian Mikardo, MP, Rev. Michael Scott and Canon Collins.

Aldermaston (open-air, Monday): Stephen Swindler, MP, Stuart Morris, George Condeer, Harold Steele, and if he is able to fly to Britain in time, Dr. Martin Niemöller.

The purpose of the march is to protest against the production of nuclear weapons. On Good Friday in Trafalgar Square the meeting will observe two minutes' silence as an act of repentance for the past use of nuclear weapons in warfare and tests. The march from the Square to the Albert Hall, the first stop of the day, will be silent.

Coach parties are coming from Tunbridge Wells to Aldermaston, a group coming from Cambridge to Reading, and other groups being organised from Oxford and Manchester. A Wessex contingent is also planned (see back page).

A separate march is being organised from Southend (Essex) to a military establishment at Shoeburyness.

Quakers at Maidenhead and Reading have offered their Meeting Houses for overnight accommodation and offers of church and other halls are coming in. More are needed along the route.

## PICKETS FOR U.S. ROCKET BASE

CAPE Canaveral, the rocket testing centre in the USA, is to be picketed by American pacifists in April.

A statement issued by the Peacemaker Group from Box 341, Fallsington, Pa., says:

"Our principal activities will be:

1. Handing out leaflets at street corners, churches, official buildings, etc.

2. Picketing military entrances, etc.

3. Visiting citizens in their homes.

Activities will begin early on Sunday morning, April 13, and be linked with the voyage of the Golden Rule to Eniwetok in protest against US H-bomb tests in the Pacific.

In 1948 the Peacemaker Group became the first US organisation to urge young men to refuse to register for military service. In 1951 they sent a team to Europe which distributed Russian-language leaflets to Soviet troops in the Russian zone of Austria.

Inside: Sir Richard Acland, Fenner Brockway, MP, Reginald Thompson, Frank Allaun, MP, write on King-Hall's book

# NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT

## Answers to those who oppose it

By  
**PHILIP TOYNBEE**

IT IS VERY IMPORTANT that those of us who support the immediate unilateral nuclear disarmament of the West should try to answer the specific points raised against us by our opponents.

It is all too easy to go on saying the same things to the converted without paying any attention to the unconverted.

Now the principal and most obvious point which is made against us is that even if the West does give a good example to the world by renouncing their own nuclear weapons, Russia will certainly not follow suit. Therefore, the only result of our action will be the domination, perhaps the occupation, of the whole world by Russian Communism.

We have every right to answer this, in the first place, by saying that we think this an improbable result. It does not seem that the Russians have greatly enjoyed their experience of trying to hold down Eastern Europe.

Is it likely that they'd try to repeat this experience in such indigestible countries as France, Sweden, Italy, Britain and America?

Even if there were little armed resistance to Russian occupation inside these countries, there would be at least a thousand million sullen opponents of the occupying forces throughout the occupied democratic world. Is this a prospect, after Hungary, which would seem attractive to Mr. Khrushchev?

As I say, we can make this our first reply. But there are many answers to it, and if we stick to this line alone I believe we shall get ourselves bogged down in an infinite series of speculations and counter-speculations.

### With open eyes

If we are to be honest we must admit that by advocating Western—and not merely British—renunciation, we are taking a very grave risk of handing over the world to Communism.

We should say that we are taking that risk with open eyes, believing it to be a far lesser risk than the risk which is taken by continuing the arms race.

We must say that we think it a lesser evil that the world should be dominated by Russia than that the world should be destroyed or mutilated by nuclear warfare.

The present historical situation is a typically tragic one in that we cannot choose between a certain good and a certain evil; we can only choose the lesser of two evils.

To my own way of thinking a Russian occupation of the West would be not only a terrible historical retrogression: it would also involve acute personal suffering to many brave and innocent people, and the exercise of power in a wicked way.

Nevertheless, I am in no doubt at all that it is both wise and right to choose to take that risk rather than to choose



**PHILIP TOYNBEE**

Novelist, critic, foreign correspondent and member of the editorial staff of the *Observer*, Mr. Toynbee held a commission in the Intelligence Corps, 1940-42, in the Ministry of Economic Warfare, 1942-44, and on the staff of Supreme Headquarters, Allied Expeditionary Force, France and Belgium, 1944-45.

Asked by Peace News as to his present views he said: "Technically I am not a pacifist, in that I can still envisage situations in which I think it would be right to fight. Nevertheless, I am in favour of total disarmament by the West, including conventional weapons, on the grounds that any kind of war now could all too easily become nuclear war."

At a nuclear disarmament meeting in Oxford recently he declared: "We're suggesting trying Gandhi's way again."

the continued and deadly risk of lacerating tens of millions by nuclear warfare. Even under Communism life goes on and life is capable of improvement

In the last five years there have been great changes within the Communist world, and those changes are still continuing.

The lesson of Hungary is not that brave men and women can do nothing against tanks, but that brave men and women are ultimately undefeatable.

In fact, the post-Stalin epoch has done much to disprove the gloomy apocalypses of George Orwell. If a regime is utterly against human nature it cannot survive indefinitely. It may survive for a tragically long time: it may even destroy the freedom and hope of a whole generation.

But it is surely very significant that even in Russia young people who have known nothing except a Communist regime are more and more crying out for the freedom and the tolerance which they have never known.

If I were to put it personally, and

ON BACK PAGE

ON BACK PAGE

# THE H-BOMB DEBATE

## March 5

**I**N an interview in the Daily Mail, Spike Milligan, the greatest of the Goon humorists, before leaving for three months in Australia, declared:

"If I were Prime Minister I'd say 'Dump every gun into the sea. For once we're not going to be heroic. We're going to be brave. We're going to be martyrs.'

"I didn't use to be a political person, but then I began to think, and once you think you're lost. Make no mistake, this war WILL come. The people of this civilisation are lost.

"When they say they won't drop the bomb they forget it has been dropped. There are 100,000 people still in need of treatment because of that first bomb.

"That started me . . . a gradual awakening of the senses. I stopped being Spike Milligan, Goon. But nobody listens, nobody listens even to men like Bertrand Russell.

"Once the world is geared for war, it's finished. . . .

"I do what I can. I want to make people laugh, but that doesn't satisfy me any more. Why should they laugh only half an hour every week? Why should they live with this brooding horror hanging over them?

"So I've started to write a book. I've written 40 children's poems. I write letters to the newspapers. I write articles for political weeklies.



"I tried to get a theatre to do a show in aid of Oxford Famine Relief (for children orphaned by war). I couldn't get a theatre.

"One important gentleman of the theatre told me, 'We've got enough trouble looking after our own people.'

"Why," I (the interviewer) asked Spike Milligan, "don't you become a politician or a priest?"

"I wouldn't go into politics unless I could devote my whole life to it. Look at the people running this country! Part-timers all of them.

"Anyway, I would be despised if I went into Parliament. I have no time for people who allow themselves to be held down by rules.

"The Hon. Member will forgive me if . . . It's too late for that. There isn't time. If we don't do something NOW, something violent, we're out for eternity.

"As for being a priest, I've thought of that, too. I'm a follower of Gandhi. He was the greatest example of the meek inheriting the earth.

"I believe in that. I believe in God. I also believe in a Church, but not the way churches are run now."

The interviewer, Robert Muller, wrote: "Spike Milligan is leaving us. Judge him as you will. Is he a clown with ideas above his chosen station? Is he a man obsessed by guilt, the guilt of humanity armed to the teeth with H-bombs?

"Is he a saint, destroying himself in a symbolic gesture of defiance, as he flits idiot-like across our screens in a Gandhi shirt?"

## March 6

**J. B. PRIESTLEY, Earl Russell and Canon Collins were attacked in the Daily Mail by Henry Fairlie as "professional agitators."** Other attacks: Mr. Frank Allau, the typical Labour sentimental; Mr. Alex Comfort, the pacifist sentimental; and Mr. Philip Toynbee, just a great big happy sentimental."

**BERTRAND RUSSELL** in a letter to The Times:

"The supposed great deterrent is an illusion not only because neither side can use it without disaster to itself but also because of the appalling risk of an unintended war brought on by some misunderstood 'incident.'

"I see no reason to believe in the 'benevolence' of the Russian Government or of any other, but the hope that we can defend the West by means of the H-bomb is illusory because to use this weapon would be

suicide. The human race can only survive if Governments realise the dangerous futility of H-bombs, and I should like the British Government to lead the way towards sanity in this respect."

**D**AVID HOWELL, King's College, in a letter to The Times: ". . . I am one . . . who believes that this country has a future as a Great Power—if she becomes the first leading nation to discard nuclear weapons and goes into the conference chamber not naked but clad in the strongest of all armour as the champion of democracy and peace against Communism."

## March 8

**B**ERTRAND RUSSELL in a letter to The Times:

"(1) If there is a nuclear war, Britain is finished, whatever policy our Government may have pursued.

"(2) Unless we renounce the H-bomb and seek its restriction to America and Russia, it will soon be possessed by France, Germany, China, Egypt, Israel and the Principality of Monaco.

"(3) When this has happened, a nuclear war not intended by either Russia or America will be far more probable than it is at present."

**I**N a brilliant two-page article, The Fallacy of the Deterrent, in the New Statesman, Paul Johnson utterly destroyed the myth that a deterrent can prevent war. Pointing to the two world wars, he showed that it can only help to win them.

"Men acquire arms not to prevent wars, but to win them. . . . Indeed, the more we

## A GLIMPSE OF THE DISCUSSION NOW

### RAGING IN THE BRITISH PRESS

study the origins of wars, the clearer it becomes that the deterrent not merely fails to deter, but has exactly the opposite effect. And this for a simple logical reason. By making the deterrent the principle instrument of your foreign policy, you inevitably place its direction, to a greater or lesser extent, in the hands of the military.

"There is no evidence that soldiers are occupationally more bellicose than politicians or diplomats. But, of necessity, they do not think in the same way. To the soldier, the ultimate evil is not to fight a war, but to lose it."

## March 11

**H**ISTORIAN A. J. P. Taylor in a letter to The Times:

"A number of your correspondents announce that they would prefer suicide to life under Communism. So would I. Our wish can be met simply and cheaply by issuing a phial of poison to every registered anti-Communist.

"But why should we insist that the rest of the population accompany us on this death ride; that many millions of Russians also be obliterated; and that the atmosphere be polluted so that future generations will be born maimed or monsters?"

**A** NATIONAL opinion poll carried out for the Daily Mail after J. B. Priestley's new anti-H-bomb play "Doomsday for Dyson" was shown on ITV showed that 67 per cent of those polled agreed with the ideas which the playwright was trying to put over.

173 MPs—16 Conservatives, two Liberals and 154 Labour—signed a motion demanding the UN set up an authority for the abolition of weapons of mass destruction.

## March 12

A protest meeting against H-bomb patrols and rocket-site plans—attended by 150 persons—met under auspices of the Labour Party, Trades Council, and Amalgamated Engineering Union at Crawley, Sussex.

## March 13

**J**ENIFER MARKHAM wins a News Chronicle essay prize:

"If you believe in your fellow man you cannot make mass slaughter an instrument of policy, even as a last resort. Your atti-

tude must be conditioned by the fact that your enemies are like yourself, human.

"They, too, are activated by the urge to self-preservation, security, and the affection of their fellows.

"Some will quote Hungary as the meaning of Modern Russia, but what remains in my mind is the memory of Russian tank commanders deserting to the people's cause.

"Were I to become a subject of Communist Russia I should be sustained by the exploding of the Stalin myth, the overthrow of Beria, and the demonstrations of Moscow students after Hungary.

"Conquests subject peoples, but ideas consume conquerors. This is the lesson of history. While there is life there is hope, and freedom, though suppressed, is never dead."

The Daily Mail's political correspondent forecast that Mr. Bevan might recant his Brighton speech on the Bomb in a new move for power over Mr. Gaitskell.

The Daily Mail contained a feature article: "Is Carolina on Your Mind?"

**T**HE Daily Express in a feature article on "That Bomb" that fell in South Carolina: "The US admission that the bomb fell because of 'a mechanical malfunction of the bomb-lock system' will inevitably reinforce the public suspicion that, whatever foolproof systems are devised, a major atomic explosion by accident is not impossible."

## March 14

**T**HE Daily Mirror in a splash editorial called "H-bomb Facts" declared: "In

this, the Herald said the poll showed among other things "that Britain, if her prestige is worth anything at all, must take on her own if necessary, one first courageous stride towards world nuclear peace."

A number of excerpts of letters were published.

**C**ANNON COLLINS, as Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, in a letter in The Times, made the following six points:

"(1) Nuclear weapons are totally evil. . . . Someone . . . has got to be the first to renounce their use. The Campaign . . . seeks to persuade the British people that Britain must be prepared to be the first and so . . . offer a sane example to the world.

"(2) This moral argument . . . is paramount and has not been refuted.

"(3) It is not the supporters of the campaign but their opponents whose case rests on emotion and not reason. . . .

"(4) In 1939, to a non-pacifist, war may have been a reasonable choice between two evils. . . . Nuclear war could never be a reasonable choice even for the non-pacifist. . . .

"(5) To choose for myself the risk of suffering or death rather than dishonour is for me a proper choice. But for me to choose suffering and death for others (including yet unborn children) is the height of wickedness.

"(6) In this present situation suicide and genocide would be the way of cowardice: true courage is the willingness to suffer and to strive, even to the point of martyrdom under a totalitarian tyranny, for the resurrection of freedom and love. . . .

**F**ATHER TREVOR HUDDLESTON, C.R., in a letter in the Times writes:

". . . the youth of England is getting desperate for want of any real leadership from those in the position to give it.

"When I say 'real leadership,' I mean a leadership which is inspired by principle and sustained by faith. The disrepute in which party politics now lies, the disbelief in the public utterances of politicians, and the sick longing for some ideal that is worth living for should make not for a capping criticism of The Times, but for a deep searching of the heart on the part of those who are in authority.

". . . it is not the bomb which really matters. It is that, in a darkening world, England seems no longer to care for, and her leaders think it not worth while to proclaim the supremacy of spiritual values. If youth is bewildered or angry, it has every right to be so."

**T**HE DAILY MAIL editorially attacked Cannon Collins for saying in a US NBC television interview that it was better to face occupation than wage nuclear war:

"If the early martyrs had believed in such a philosophy Christianity would have been snuffed out. It is because they preferred death to the surrender of their faith that Christianity survived and flourished."

**S**PEAKING OF MILITARY ACCIDENTS, it was revealed in the Daily Mail that in 1943 a torpedo from a US destroyer missed by 50 yards the US battleship Iowa off Gibraltar. The Iowa was carrying President Roosevelt to meet Stalin and Churchill at Teheran.

France, reports The Times, has nearly completed the production of its first atomic bombs, and tests may begin soon—perhaps in the Sahara.

## Briefly

An interview with Dr. Schweitzer by Peter Townsend was published in the Daily Mail. Townsend wrote in detail on Schweitzer's philosophy of reverence for life.

"Tell the politicians that we do not want bombs or any means of destruction in any shape or form," says a little booklet, "Life to the Nth Degree" (6d.), by Ralph Fairway, a Church of Scotland minister of the Manse, Gartcosh, Glasgow.

## Mass lobby against nuclear war

AS part of the campaign against nuclear war, a mass lobby is being organised for the re-assembly of Parliament at the end of April.

It is initiated by: Direct Action Committee against Nuclear War, Hydrogen Bomb Campaign Committee, Missile Bases Emergency Committee, London Student Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

The campaign for the lobby will start immediately after the Aldermaston march.

Needed urgently are: 5,000 names and addresses to whom publicity material can be sent; 200 voluntary full-time workers from Easter to end of April; 100 people for leaflet distribution; poster parades, etc.; 200 cars for loud speakers, transport and floats.

Apply to Mass Lobby Campaign, 374 Grays Inn Rd., W.C.1.

## Campaign news in brief

Three hundred students at the London School of Economics cheered Dr. Soper after a speech at a meeting organised by the LSE Committee Against Nuclear War.

Delegates from London committees broke off their conference to watch the TV discussion last week in which Dr. Soper and Barbara Castle, MP, discussed abolition of the bomb with Peter Thorneycroft, MP, and Emmanuel Shinwell, MP. Discussion followed Priestley's play "Doomsday for Dyson."

## Fast ends eviction

From a Correspondent

A POOR tenant in the Baroda district of India was unlawfully evicted but, having no money, was unable to take the case to court.

The landlord, who had a good deal of political influence, could not be persuaded to budge from his standpoint by any means. As local agitation grew, the danger of bloodshed threatened.

Harivalab Parikh, a well-known worker with Bhoodan (Land Gift movement), and Indian Servas secretary, decided that the only way to deal with the situation was by non-violence, and he began a ten-day fast.

As a result of this action the conscience of the area was roused and the landlord yielded. Later both tenant and landlord, who had left the Bhoodan movement, rejoined—as friends.

## Goan revolt grows

The demand by the Goan Police for rice-cultivated land belonging to the Comunidade of Margao as a site for houses for police guards was stoutly opposed by the majority of share-holders (actionistas) at an extraordinary meeting held on Dec. 29. This action on the part of the people of Goa against the all-powerful police is considered as a portent of a serious revolt brewing in Goa.

### PPU RELIGION COMMISSION

Pacifist Universalist Service  
3.30 p.m. Sunday, March 23  
32 Tavistock Square, Euston  
Discourse: Rev. L. J. Bliss

"The Christian and Nuclear War"

"I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another" This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to PPU Headquarters DICK SHEPPARD HOUSE 6, Endsleigh Street London, W.C.1

# 'HYSTERIA' CHARGE RIDICULED

## EMRYS HUGHES, MP replies to critics

THOSE who try to discredit the growing protests against nuclear weapons by calling it "hysterical" and "emotional" were ridiculed by Emrys Hughes, MP, during the Air Estimates debate in the House of Commons last week.

"This is a movement of very level-headed people," he said. "It is not an hysterical, emotional movement at all."

"It has the support of a very large number of scientists, mathematicians, biologists and others accustomed to thinking in terms of abstract formulae." But, he added:

"Even if it were just an emotional approach, surely we are entitled to be emotional about the prospect of seeing a country destroyed and millions of people suffer in an atomic war."

Obviously, the opposition to it was as much intellectual as emotional.

### Pot calling kettle?

"At the weekend," he said, "the Lord President of the Council (Lord Hailsham) mixed up pacifists with hysterical people."

"The least hysterical meetings I've ever been to are meetings of the Society of Friends. Sometimes they do not speak at all. They are certainly not emotional, yet the Society of Friends is the oldest pacifist movement in the country."

Among the people who spoke at these meetings, he continued, was Earl Russell, "an eminent mathematician and abstract philosopher."

"He is about the least emotional and excitable person I know in public life."

Mr. Silverman, interjecting: "Unlike the Lord President of the Council."

Mr. Hughes agreed, adding: "And unlike my right hon. Friend the member for Easington (Emmanuel Shinwell)."

### The three philosophers

He was sorry that Mr. Shinwell was not present, because in a speech the other day he referred disrepectfully to Earl Russell as "a superannuated philosopher."

Mr. Shinwell had said he was acquainted with the philosophy of Immanuel Kant.

"I do not know," said Emrys Hughes, "what appealed to my right hon. Friend in Immanuel Kant, whether it was his Christian or his surname."

But, he added, Immanuel Kant wrote a book called "Perpetual Peace." He hoped Mr. Shinwell would read it and digest it—then perhaps he will be able to answer Lord Russell on his own ground."

The Observer, raising the question whether possession of the H-bomb gave Britain greater influence in negotiations, had decided that it did not.

A Foreign Secretary, it thought, would not be handicapped by going to a conference without it.

Indeed, Mr. Hughes added, "It doesn't matter very much whether the Foreign Secretary goes naked into the conference, or in a kilt, a suit of asbestos, or a coat of many colours."

Few people, well-informed on the question of the relative positions of Russia and America, would agree that it assisted Britain's bargaining power.

### What of the men in control

He referred to the case of the corporal whose duty is to tow the H-bomb from one place to another and who had been accused of being drunk.

"The wonder to me," he said, "is not that the men who think in terms of the H-bomb get drunk, but that any of them can remain sober."

We were told how much easier and safer it was now for the airmen to depart. But what about their return?

"If they drop the H-bomb, nothing is more certain than that there will be retaliation, and they will return to a country in which their wives, children and families have been destroyed."

No wonder, he said, so few are joining the RAF. It was "nothing but a suicide club."

He was glad that the Labour Party had



decided on a policy of unilateral ending of the bomb tests in the Pacific.

But he "did not see how we can then logically support the manufacture of the H-bomb. There's no logic in it."

He believed, however, that the logic of events would make the Labour Party realise that the idea of unilateral disarmament was a revolutionary idea, and as someone had truly said, "revolution cannot be stopped halfway."

The logical attitude for the Labour Party now was to abolish the bomb altogether and face the alternative and the consequences.

He was convinced that ultimately sheer pressure of events would force the Labour Party to take that position.

## Oxford's stop-H-bomb campaign

The climax of Oxford's campaign for nuclear disarmament during the last few weeks came with a packed meeting in the Town Hall recently where over 1,000 citizens and members of the University passed a resolution calling on the Government to make no further tests of hydrogen bombs and establish no missile bases in England.

The resolution also demanded that nuclear weapons should not be supplied to other countries and should not be carried by aeroplanes on patrol flights.

The following are quotations from the speakers at the meeting:

DR. Alex Comfort, who advocated determined and widespread refusal to military service, said of nuclear strategy that it was a strategy of moral bankruptcy and ceremonial suicide. "It is eroding our values so that they will not be worth defending."

MR. Philip Toynbee said: "I think we dislike the Russian régime very much indeed, but we believe that even if they do occupy us, life will still go on. We're suggesting trying Gandhi's way again. There are no circumstances in which we should be justified in saying 'Let them have it!'"

MR. John Berger said that supporters of nuclear policy lived in "castles of words—NATO shield, the nuclear deterrent, the clean bomb, the umbrella of US weapons."

MR. J. B. Priestley denied the accusation of emotionalism: "Our arguments are never carefully answered. We are immediately subjected to personal abuse."

MR. Victor Gollancz, declaring himself a pacifist, said: "The only thing that can save the world is to oppose to this policy its exact opposite. We have come to the ultimate place of evil. The only thing we can do is to oppose it by absolute good."

## Epsom poster parade

HOUSEHOLDERS in the Epsom district have been asked to put their signatures to a declaration "... that Britain must give a lead in stopping the manufacture of, and testing of, and the threat to use, nuclear weapons."

This statement appears on a new leaflet by the Quaker sponsored Epsom and District Peace Fellowship and the signatures will be sent to Mr. Macmillan, as part of a campaign for the Abolition of Nuclear Warfare.

Other activities include letters, several of which have been published, to the local Press by a panel of writers of the Peace Fellowship.

It is hoped to set up a stall in Epsom market place to collect signatures against Britain's H-bomb preparations on Saturday, March 29, when a poster parade starting at 3 p.m. will leave from 3 St. Martin's Ave.

## THE GREAT DEBATE

HANSARD, all the national newspapers, and my local newspapers—they all carry discussions on pacifism these days. Some of the writers and speakers know what they are talking about, some don't.

It is for the people groping for the truth in a nation where the discussion of pacifism has been taboo for 20 years that we have a particular sympathy at the present time.

We want to encourage them to go on thinking new thoughts about total peace or total war; the H-bomb or unarmed defence.

Getting Peace News into the hands of people ready to join in the Great Debate is a number one priority; number two is raising the money necessary for financing the paper. £43 18s. 9d. has come in during the past two weeks and £149 5s. 11d. since the beginning of our financial year. We need £1,746 by January 31, 1959.

Can you lend a hand in either of these ways?

THE EDITOR.

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Peace News Ltd., and address them to Lady Clare Annesley, Joint Treasurer, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

## RUGBY DEBATES

### UNILATERAL DISARMAMENT

THAT Great Britain should disarm forthwith" was the motion debated between the Rugby PPU Group and the Percival Guildhouse Debating Society recently.

The Percival Guildhouse is Rugby's adult education centre.

W. C. Guise, treasurer of the Rugby Group, said that the most that many people seem to hope for as an alternative to war is an indefinite military stalemate.

As a step towards breaking the deadlock, he said, the gesture of unilateral disarmament offered grounds for hope because (a) it reversed the present drift; (b) it directly encouraged the uncommitted nations to say No to nuclear arms; (c) it would speed research into non-violent resistance; (d) it would make mediation between East and West possible and so pave the way to total peace.

Raymond Rowse, group chairman, said that while none could foresee the results of British unilateral disarmament, he did maintain that it was a right first step and could not cause more suffering and evil than war.

### Preservation by obliteration?

For the Guildhouse, Mr. Raymond Cook held that disarmament was too great a risk, and that in certain circumstances war was necessary to preserve the values of civilisation.

He did not explain how a war which would wipe civilisation out would also preserve it.

Some form of international police force, he said, was necessary to check international gangsterism.

Mr. Moran, also opposing, was optimistic. He said we needn't have war because we had armaments.

Nor should we be mesmerised by the H-bomb. To people of AD 21 dynamite would have looked much like the H-bomb to us.

He seemed to forget that the effects of dynamite are limited and those of nuclear explosions are not.

There was a good discussion from the floor. One speaker asserted that neither American money civilisation nor Russian Communism were worth fighting for, but European civilisation embodied certain invaluable ideals and that a third block of a strong Europe should be set up between the two.

The motion was carried by 19 to 7, some voting for it being hitherto unknown to the Group.

MALE ASSISTANT REQUIRED for London Shipping Depot of Relief Organisation. Active, varied, manual work; suit young man interested in refugee relief seeking employment for several months. Please write Secretary, P.O. Box 11, 17 Broad Street, Oxford.

## Beyond control

THE latest Soviet proposals and what follows from them are further evidence of the fact that the race in atomic armaments has taken us beyond the point of control.

Of course it is desirable to prevent outer space being brought into the range of the power struggle and providing the safe path for intercontinental ballistic missiles. And there is justification in the Russian demand that if they surrender their present advance post in outer space America should reciprocate by abandoning their land missile bases for the medium range rockets.

But such an agreement would not be susceptible to any control system.

America might well retort that her action in abandoning missile bases would be capable of proof but the Soviet abandonment of the upper atmosphere would have to be taken on trust. It would not indeed be possible to have a foolproof system which could guarantee that either side was incapable of discharging ICBMs once they had the know-how.

Already the stockpiles of H-bombs hidden away beyond detection or deterioration defy any known method of inspection and control, even if it were possible to inspect and control the future production of fissionable material. Behind the so-called shield of the deterrent is the darkening menace of bacteriological warfare being perfected in laboratories which likewise cannot be brought under adequate inspection or control.

The more suggestions that are made for dealing with specific weapons the more obvious it becomes that control and inspection are no longer a practical proposition.

The legend of the Frankenstein monster has come true. Man has created the monster of destruction which cannot be controlled.

The clear facts of the situation as well as the moral challenge demand that we abandon the demand for control and begin to trust one another to keep an agreement to refuse to destroy each other.

And if we are going to put aside our fears and take the risk of trusting one another it is more feasible to exercise that trust over the whole range of armaments than only in a limited field.

Unconditional total disarmament is the only logical answer, and Britain can lead the way in preserving outer space for peaceful uses and dedicating the resources of the earth to peaceful ends by unilateral disarmament of all her armaments.

## German question

ON the question of German reunification the Russian Government now insists on the view that this is not the business of the other powers but that this is entirely a matter for the West German and East German States. This puts out of account the possibility of any external imposition of the "free elections" upon which the West has always held that reunification should be based. We have always held that, desirable as it is that the whole German people should be given the untrammelled opportunity of electing their own Government, the different types of economy that have been built up in the two parts of Germany make it necessary also that there should be consultation between the two Governments for the protection and reconciliation of the different economic interests in the two sections.

Setting aside an attempt at reunification by war, there can clearly now be no road towards a united Germany on the basis of the claim that there is only one German Government and that is the Government of Dr. Adenauer.

It would create a new and possibly more hopeful situation if the West German Government would take the Russian Government at its word and treat with East Germany as a separate and independent entity.

We hold that the West German Government would do well to negotiate upon the basis of plans for a federal Germany in which the Eastern sections would have sufficient autonomy to maintain and develop or to change in their own way their own form of economy.

Indeed, at one stage it would help if a



plebiscite of the whole German people were taken to decide what is the form of structure desired.

Such a plebiscite could have even more value than free elections.

## Labour and the Bomb

SPEAKING to the National Union of Conservative Associations, the Minister of Defence, Mr. Duncan Sandys, declared that the official Labour Party policy on "defence" is 99.9 per cent sound, and he

presumably meant by this that it was only 1 per cent not in agreement with Conservative policy. He complained, however, that the Labour Party was "cashing in on splinter groups all over the place," and he appealed to the Opposition leaders not to try to get the best of both worlds.

By "cashing in" Mr. Sandys meant that there were many candidates who were seeking to meet the views of their constituents in the undertakings they were ready to give with regard to the H-bomb; and it is clear that the Labour Party, which is now enter-

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## PEACE NEWS

March 21, 1958

## OUTER SPACE AND OUTER BASES

WHEN PRESIDENT EISENHOWER proposed co-operation in the control of the uses of outer space following the launching of the Russian Sputniks and the US satellite, it was generally assumed that he meant:

The limitation of the uses of outer space in peace-time to the purposes of science with the knowledge available internationally.

And the prevention of the use of earth-satellites as means of military observation.

This brought no favourable response from the Russian Government, and (although any co-operation between the Powers is better than none) the importance President Eisenhower attached to his proposal seemed out of proportion to its possible value to help reduce tension.

In his recent letter to Bertrand Russell, however, Mr. Khrushchov interprets President Eisenhower's proposal as involving a ban on the use and development of ballistic missiles—particularly of the inter-continental missiles which the Russian Government now has. Mr. Khrushchov objects that to extract this question from general armaments reduction would simply result in the surrender by Russia of a military advantage not possessed by the US. Russia, therefore, on this question is urging the same objection that the West has urged concerning the separation of the question of nuclear weapons from the general question of armaments and military power.

**SINCE MR. KHRUSHCHOV** wrote his letter, the Russian Government has clarified its attitude by a proposal for a ban on the use of outer space for military purposes linked with the elimination of the NATO bases from Europe and them from the Middle East and North Africa.

It proposes that these measures should be supervised by the United Nations and that there should be set up by UN a body for international co-operation in space research, and that only under the aegis of this body should rockets be launched.

This proposal has produced the usual automatic response from "Washington officials" that it is wholly unacceptable.

It would be a desirable thing if "spokesmen" and others who make these precipitate pronouncements could be prohibited from opening their mouths after **every communication or pronouncement that comes from Moscow until there has been time for it to be given reasonable consideration.**

**IF THERE IS ONE THING THAT IS VERY APPARENT IT IS THAT THERE CANNOT BE ANY GENUINE AND EFFECTIVE AGREEMENT FOR THE REDUCTION OF ARMS IF IT IS TO BE CONDITIONED BY THE STIPULATION THAT WHATEVER ELSE HAPPENS THESE BASES HAVE GOT TO REMAIN.**

From a military standpoint it is a reasonable objection by the Western Governments that the elimination of both the missiles and the bases would mean placing Russia in the position where through her great numerical superiority in man-power she would be able to dominate Europe, the very situation that the West was seeking to counter-balance by the development of nuclear weapons.

**THAT IS OBVIOUSLY A MATTER** that will need to be taken into consideration, but we recall that it was Russia that made the proposal that Russian and US forces should be limited to 1,500,000 each and the French and British to 650,000 each, and that it was through US pressures that this proposal was set aside.

This is obviously something that could be revived in connection with the new Russian proposals.

All these things, linked with a possible development of the Rapacki plan for an area of disengagement in Europe and the consideration of the suggestion previously made by Russia for US-Russian co-operation in the development of under-developed areas in the Middle East ought to provide the foundation for some agreement given the genuine concern for a relaxation of tensions that both sides claim they share.

**LET US SAY ALSO THAT IT WOULD ALREADY BE A MORE PROMISING FACTOR IF BOTH SIDES, IN ADVANCE OF THE PROPOSED SUMMIT MEETING, INSTEAD OF GREETING EACH NEW PROPOSAL FROM THE OTHER AS IT COMES ALONG WITH A FLAT REFUSAL, COULD SOMETIMES CONTENT THEMSELVES WITH EXPRESSING DOUBTS ACCOMPANIED BY A WILLINGNESS TO EXPLORE IF THE PROPOSAL OFFERS ANY POSSIBILITIES.**

ing upon its national campaign for "Labour's Plan for Peace—the plan that coincides as to 99.9 per cent with Conservative policy—is not adverse to taking advantage of this.

Mr. Zilliacus recalls that over 70 Labour candidates at the last General Election spoke against the British manufacture and stockpiling of the H-bomb, and he forecasts that the number will be increased two or three times at the next election.

Time and Tide comments that this may be true, "but that does not matter, say the Party officials, so long as these people vote with their Party in Parliament."

We have a good deal of sympathy for the natural Conservative distaste for this situation. Although there is much to be said for a wide tolerance for differences of view inside political parties this question of the manufacture and contemplated use of the H-bomb is an issue of such supreme moral importance that there is a debasing cynicism in permitting a deliberate ambiguity with regard to it for electoral ends.

No candidate should make a public declaration of his opposition to the manufacture and stockpiling by Britain of nuclear weapons unless he is resolved that such a declaration shall be reflected in his Parliamentary activities.

The views held by his constituents that have called for such a declaration also call for his vote to be used in accordance with it.

Honesty thus requires that, which ever Party may be in office, his vote must be cast against any provision of revenues for the manufacture of these things. And on such a question no candidate should feel entitled to make such a declaration to his electorate if all he is prepared to do is to abstain from voting when the matter comes up for decision in the House of Commons. In such a matter abstention is not opposition but half-hearted support.

## Better unwritten

**T**HERE is much that is preposterous in the new communication that Mr. Khrushchov has sent to the New Statesman, but the most grotesque thing about it is that it is addressed to Bertrand Russell.

Earl Russell has in his time made many penetrating and forthright criticisms of conditions in Russia. He has also written books setting out what he regards as acceptable socialist development. Mr. Khrushchov writes as if when he describes conditions in Russia as Socialism Earl Russell will be at one with him and as if the criticisms that Earl Russell has levelled had never been made.

There is, of course, quite a lot that is true in the letter. Much of the criticism of the imperialism of the West is criticism that is widely urged in the West, among others by Bertrand Russell. It should be mentioned on the other hand that there is no possibility that anybody would be permitted in Russia to offer criticisms of conditions on the lines that Bertrand Russell has urged.

It is in the account of the development of Communism in Russia, however, that this letter is so astonishing. If Mr. Khrushchov has set out to demonstrate that he was capable of an even more nauseating self-righteousness than that of Mr. Dulles his letter is an outstanding success.

As it is still Russian policy to keep Hungary as a subject nation, one would not look for any admission that there was anything wrong about the action that has alienated from Communism in the West so many thousands of its former adherents: although the reference to the operations of the Russian tanks and troops in the establishment of the Quisling Kadar as "the Soviet Union's help to fraternal Hungary" is a phrase that will be likely to be remembered.

After the repelling of the foreign attempts to suppress the Russian revolution the time came for the Communists to build what Mr. Khrushchov calls socialism. "We all worked, oblivious of self," he remarks, and it is this description of Communist activity that is applied to the Stalin régime, regarding which Mr. Khrushchov seems to have forgotten he had something to say a year or two ago.

This incapacity to admit wrongs done, or even error, while piling up charges against those with whom they are to negotiate characterises the leaders of both the power blocs. We do not think, however, that the Western statesmen display it quite so stupidly as has Mr. Khrushchov.



REGINALD THOMPSON writes after reading King-Hall's new book...

## To be or not to be—that is the question

The writer, a former Daily Telegraph war correspondent, is a student of military strategy. During World War II he served as captain in the army and became a war correspondent from Normandy to the end and a war correspondent in Korea, 1950-51.

He is widely travelled and author of many books: "Land of Tomorrow," "Cry Korea," and "The Pink House in Angel Street" are among those best known.

In a three-volume history of the campaign in north-west Europe Mr. Thompson has attempted to relate Grand Strategy to the common soldier. Hutchinson and Co. have already published the first two volumes.

I KNOW of no more savage indictment of all that remains of the dregs of Western Civilisation than that it should be necessary to plead for the abandonment of the policies of genocide, race suicide and the extermination of the future, on the grounds of expediency. Yet the moral and spiritual and political bankruptcy of our country makes this demand.

Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall has performed the difficult service of stating a case against the use of extermination as a threat or "deterrent," and has disentangled it from the moral and spiritual issue. The result must be comparable to a body deprived of heart and soul. But we must be grateful.

When I had read Sir Stephen's book I put it aside for a week, compelled, much against my desire, to think of its implications. And because I have lived so long alone with my sense of dismay in my wilderness I sought friends to help me.

They were ready to my hand, as if by a miracle, brought by the postman through the snow drifts, friends from France and the USA. But in the day or two before they came the voice of an old friend spoke over the span of thirty years. It was "The Sword of Wood."

The young village schoolmaster walks in the country lane. He is overtaken by a maiden in distress, pursued by an invincible swordsman. "You must not fight him!" she cries.

But with a smile the young schoolmaster salutes her with his walking stick. "A man with no sword," he said, "can never be beaten in swordsmanship."

### Voice of today

Then from USA came the voice of today: "Anger is increasing in the soul of man, an anger seemingly with itself such as a child feels when it has failed to solve something. What it cannot solve it breaks. The unsolvable problem to-day seems to be the human being himself."

The same voice said that when he was young: "I did not know that if the world ever passed into the hands of the politicians, as it was to pass, they would do what they have always done—destroy it."

But the voice from France was awe inspiring and terrible. It warned that men like he and me were become anachronisms, like the elephant. He told of an idealist smeared by every dreadful epithet from every side, and every epithet directly contradictory.

So, at the last I found the words in which Luke recorded an answer Christ had given to his followers on this question troubling us to-day. "Lord, wilt thou that we command fire to come down from Heaven, and consume them? But He turned and rebuked them, and said, Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of. For the son of man is not come to destroy men's lives, but to save them."

BECAUSE my words are always brushed away as the babblings of an eccentric I have let my friends speak for me. Now I will speak for myself in regard to some of the suggestions of Sir Stephen King-Hall.

I think that one of the vital flaws in his book is his obsession with the Soviet threat. I have never believed in the military possibility of this threat. Nor do I now. For anyone who cares to study the military, political and economic position in 1945, the facts are available from US and British sources. It is worth while to compare the almost exactly similar pattern following the World War I, and the resolve that it was vital to create the Russian bogey. But a man must satisfy himself.

Assuming the threat is real. The doctrines of Communism are alien to the character and social growth of the peoples in this island. The Soviet fear of contact with the West is very great, and the Iron Curtain, apart from being a military barrier and buffer against Soviet fears of a fourth invasion from the West, is also a

**Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall's new book  
"Defence in the Nuclear Age" is published by Gollancz, 18s**

cordon sanitaire to isolate their peoples from ours.

Apart from the difficulty of conceiving the vast armies of administrators, technicians, linguists and troops necessary for such an invasion of the West, I do not believe that Soviet Communism would survive for five years diluted and in close contact with the peoples of Western Europe. Nor do the leaders of Soviet Russia believe otherwise.

To them our "idea" is an even more dangerous plague than their "idea" is to us. Soviet Russia, in the unlikely event of their attacking us or occupying us, would have a hopeless task on their hands. Our island might prove to be, not our grave, but theirs.

I have found that in north-western Europe the fear of a resurgent Nazi Germany is rising fast to blot out the bogey fear of Russia. Even in the USA there are many thoughtful men who agree with this view. It makes historical, economic and "Nazi" sense. Krupp sits again at the head of his mighty industrial empire, scorning the impotent sanctions the conquerors of Nazi Germany put upon him so little time ago.

### Reasonable expectation

Nazis again occupy important positions throughout the country, and Dr. Adenauer, that aged basilisk, roars behind the police sirens, his meetings watched over by thugs. These things do not go unnoticed in Holland, France and Belgium as they plead with us to join them, and to take our place with them as Europeans.

Therefore, I would say, it is essential to consider this possibility.

The strong likelihood is that we should be left in peace with our friends in Western Europe and the East, we should set in motion such a chain reaction of faith and hope that would inspire the world. Apart from that the most reasonable expectation would be that the United States would increase its present occupation of this island, to safeguard its bases.

Alternatively, and more probably, it would clasp Western Germany to its bosom and make it the spearhead of its nuclear threat, and its main ally.

IT may be that such possibilities are well forward in the mind of Commander King-Hall, and that in his recognition of the extreme urgency of getting a hearing at all costs he has confined himself to a more acceptable hypothetical case. Nevertheless, in my view, any appreciation of the situation following unilateral nuclear disarmament, should include these possibilities.

I believe also that Sir Stephen has overstated the moral force of our example. There is certainly virtue in the triumph of sanity over lunacy, but it cannot be said to be of great moral worth.

Furthermore, it is not generally realised

that the moral worth of the West has been at a low ebb for many years. In Eastern eyes we carry the guilt not only for the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and for retaining these monstrous exterminators after the war, but also for the gas chambers, for Belsen, Dachau and the rest, and for the shovelling of 6,000,000 Jews to extinction.

More recently our shrivelling of tens of thousands with napalm in Korea made a bad impression, and it is no good attempting to wash our hands of the half of these deeds. They belong to the "civilised West." We have not gone far, indeed we have not begun, to live them down.

I BELIEVE, also, that in his thoughts on non-violent resistance and the forms it might take Sir Stephen fails to take account of the long struggle of the working class against oppressors. Until recently this struggle was a commonplace of their lives.

It is not 100 years since women with chains between their legs were harnessed like animals to trucks, and children worked 14 hours a day in our mills. Most of the people of this country, and of the world, have done little else but struggle against oppressors.

There is no doubt that there is a spark in the heart and soul of man which will not go out until life itself goes out.

Men like Sir Stephen King-Hall and myself, born and nurtured in luxury, knowing the music of glory in our schools, and our lives, may find few things more difficult than to get inside the minds, hearts and spirits of what once was called the working class. It is unescapable that the fight will be theirs.

### Cry from Europe

But while we shadow box against monstrous shadows we are in danger of corruption from within. Fascism is a far more potent threat in the West than Communism. And it is a Trojan horse within the walls, ever ready to burst out.

Even now the vital force is dangerously missing from our democracy. Our Parliament has become the meeting ground of two all-powerful machines against which a few brave individuals of the right and left batter their heads in vain. Parliament no longer reflects either the will or the aspirations of the people.

I believe that we should have learned that it is stupid and dangerous to put a "way of life" on a pedestal as something universally to be desired. The world consists of many peoples, arising from totally different beginnings, in varying phases of a struggle, sustained by varied religions, economics and philosophies. The Americans, naively anxious to sell their "way of life" as a kind of benison to mankind, swiftly found that it was not everybody's "cup of tea."

Finally, I believe that it is urgent that we should answer the cry from Europe. It is a cry that surged a month or two ago into my ears from many thousands of Dutch middle-class throats: "If you are Europeans, come join with us!" Only then may we assuage some of the fear of the German menace which grips the minds of our friends in our Continent.

I DO not believe that the world will be saved by pleading with the insane for sanity, for Lewis Mumford is right to call them "the faceless men."

The world will be saved by a miracle, by an act of faith. Or it will perish. I do not look to this Island for that miracle, but to America. That land, for all the turmoil and contradictions in its strange version of democracy, yet holds the seeds of greatness which once were ours.

In the violence of its thoughts there is not only danger, there is hope. The voice of America is often terrible, but it is also dynamic. In its worst madness there may be heard faint undercurrents of sanity. The voice is terrible: it may yet be brave.

## NOW WE CAN THINK

By Sir Richard Acland

Our contributor first entered Parliament as a member of the Liberal Party. He was a founder of the Common Wealth Party but later joined the Labour Party and represented Gravesend until 1955, when after a speech in the House on March 10 of that year, he resigned, refusing to support provision for the strategic bomber force, the purpose of which was to carry the H-bomb. In the General Election he stood as an Independent "Anti-H-bomb" candidate for the same constituency. He is an author, public speaker, and at present a schoolmaster.

ON reading King-Hall's much heralded book I am immediately impressed by the fact that his is not a pacifist message.

We are to have 170,000 men under arms at a cost of £700,000,000 per year (p. 151) to act as internal police and as "highly mobile limited conventional forces . . . for non-global, non-nuclear military action against small-scale aggressions and riotous commotions" (p. 159). In addition, though these forces would offer but token resistance to massive Soviet attack, yet, by forcing the Russians to mount such an attack if they wished to occupy our territories they would reveal to the world the true nature of the occupation.

### Think about this

This means—perhaps it shouldn't mean, but it does mean—that the book will be taken seriously by thousands of practical men who have rejected what they would call "all that visionary pacifist stuff." And this opens the door to hope.

A blanket of cold wet despair almost inhibits purposeful thinking as long as we feel that, whatever the outcome of thought, there is no possibility of turning thought into action. King-Hall, by the very fact of not making the pacifist case, has said to everyone under thirty: "Now think about this; for while you are still in the prime of life it is perfectly possible that public policy be revolutionised."

Naturally, there are points on which I want to criticise. I am impatient of all the talk of defending our way of life without any explicit admission that our way of life contains much which is rightly condemned by the Communists who challenge us. But this is not the time or place for any such argument. The great service of the book is its forcing us to face the questions:

"What is the ultimate disaster? Is Soviet occupation (if it occurred) the end of all things? Which is worse, for Britain, for our way of life, for the world: Total permanent extinction, or perhaps two centuries under Soviet rule?"

The immense value of rightly answering these questions lies in our thereby freeing ourselves to discuss policies which might in the end lead to a genuine world peace without being cut short by the silly man who points out that such policies may slightly increase the risk of Soviet occupation in 1961.

### Can we work together?

The book comes at exactly the right time and will open up the great debate which will be the main theme of public controversy for the next 20 years. Writing with a certain amount of experience of these matters, I would say that unless my friends of Victory for Socialism can quite soon win their internal victory, there will be ample time and means to start from scratch and build up the entire new political apparatus that will be needed to attend to the political side of the work that has to be done.

As there will not ever be any other public campaign, if this one fails, there is now a sharp challenge addressed to pacifists and non-pacifists alike. Can we work together in this campaign, or must we stand aloof from each other or even oppose each other because some of us are less than 100 per cent pacifist in our immediate policy and in ourselves?

# Kirkenes Journey 8 SIXTEEN YEARS LATER

By Gene Sharp

NEW READERS BEGIN HERE: In 1942 for defying and non-co-operating with Quisling's Nazification efforts in the schools, hundreds of Norwegian teachers were sent to camps near Kirkenes in the far Arctic. Quisling charged: "you teachers have destroyed everything for me!" as the pilot project in instituting his Corporate State had been blocked. The teachers were finally released, and Mr. Holmboe (their leader who told his story to Gene Sharp) returned home exactly eight months after his arrest.

SIXTEEN momentous years have passed in which to gain a perspective of the teachers' resistance. Are there any lessons to be learnt from that experience, and has it any significance for today?

"The effectiveness of the method we used," said Mr. Holmboe, "is shown by the events themselves: Quisling's plan for the Corporate State was broken down.

## The story of the Norwegian teachers' successful non-violent resistance under Nazi occupation

"But the question is: 'Under what conditions is it possible to organise this type of resistance?'"

After the war was over, he said, "what came into our minds was, 'Would this opposition have been possible if we had not had the strong feeling that someone was fighting our war?'"

It was more difficult for the German teachers who resisted Nazism in their homeland, he and his wife agreed, for they had no one on the outside helping them.

"If it had been a civil war here," Mr. Holmboe thought, "and we had had to oppose the Quisling régime without support from outside, we would never have succeeded."

## Violence also used

The teachers had not chosen methods of non-violent resistance because of any religious feeling of love for the enemy.

"We also had military organisations during the occupation," Mr. Holmboe said, "though they were not large. In fact, many of the teachers, including myself, were active in organising illegal military groups when we got the opportunity. We were willing to use weapons when we had them."

A personal problem he faced was this:



President Franklin Delano Roosevelt paid tribute to Norway's non-violent resistance as well as to Norway's armed resistance. On September 16, 1942, he said: "... if there is anyone who doubts the democratic will to win ... let him

look to Norway ... Norway, at once conquered and unconquerable ... At home, the Norwegian people have silently resisted the invader's will with grim endurance. Abroad, Norwegian ships and Norwegian men have rallied to the cause of the United Nations."



German SS battalion commander, Waffen-SS Lieutenant-General Juttner, is seen (centre) reviewing Norwegian soldiers after their being sworn in as members of the Norwegian volunteer battalion. Beside him (front left in civilian clothes) is Vidkun Quisling. On Juttner's right is the Norwegian battalion commander, Major Bakke.

If he wanted the Allies to continue the war against Hitler, how could he say the resistance in Norway should completely reject violence, even though he preferred non-violent methods?

"We used non-violent resistance as well because in certain circumstances it seemed the only way in which to work."

After the war when the Norwegian people heard about the resistance in other countries, and that by comparison Norwegian resistance ranked first, they were surprised.

"That we are said to have played a model role in the resistance may be due to the fact that we had a more personal way of working," Mr. Holmboe said.

## Sense of solidarity

He thought that the success of their resistance, by comparison with that in other countries, might be due to the fact that they had a more personal way of working.

"In any kind of organised resistance activity," he said, "it is important to engage a lot of people personally."

"People feel a need to do something. Generally that feeling finds expression in violence. If someone is needed to do something risky it gets a ready response, for it involves what someone has called 'living on an heroic plane!'"

It would not have been possible, immediately after the invasion in 1940, to organise resistance like that of 1942, for the people had not been prepared for facing an occupation. They did not know how to resist it.

Their feelings were too confused. Then little by little there grew a feeling of wanting to find ways of resistance.

"People were eager to do something.

President Franklin Delano Roosevelt paid tribute to Norway's non-violent resistance as well as to Norway's armed resistance. On September 16, 1942, he said: "... if there is anyone who doubts the democratic will to win ... let him



The above assembly is listening to Norwegian Defence Minister Nils Handal speaking on Norway's future defence plans at the opening of the new Defence Academy in 1956. As a veteran of the teachers' non-violent resistance in 1942, Mr. Holmboe calls Norway's defence policy "futile" and favours setting up a "non-violent defence academy" where non-violent struggles could be studied and plans laid for unarmed resistance against invaders.

They became heroes if they were arrested considering their war-time experiences, such as the teachers' struggle, as they prepare to preserve their freedom?

Next week: Fears of another occupation.

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It was not good enough to prepare Norway's Minister of Defence, always for a situation that has passed instead of for the future.

## Encourage personal responsibility

(For example, it is now compulsory in Norway for bomb shelters to be a part of every new school building, "but who can think that will be the situation again?")

Mr. Holmboe is still not an avowed pacifist, and does not completely exclude the necessity of military training. But he thinks it may be a good thing to set up a special "non-violent defence academy" where people could study past non-violent struggles and consider possible plans for implementing this method of defence against tyranny.

He wasn't sure non-violent resistance would always work, but thought it deserved careful consideration and that people should be trained in how non-violent resistance operates.

"In case of a war we have to take into consideration the likelihood of an occupation for a shorter or longer time. Therefore, it is of high importance to prepare ways of resistance as far as possible in advance."

One of the best means of preparing for resistance under occupation, he thought, was to encourage people to take responsibility so that they were ready to take the initiative in a critical situation.

They must "prepare people's minds for maintaining our national and personal individuality during times of occupation and similar situations."

In such situations, he thought, in view of his experience, it was "important to find ways to dramatise, personalised and heroic action, especially for young people, so as to give them the idea 'Maybe I could be a hero and still not fight with violence.'

"We do too little," he added, "to investigate these other ways of education for the future."

To what extent are Norwegians today



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# PEACE NEWS REVIEW OF THE REVIEWS

## THE OBSERVER

THE Observer's reviewer (March 9) was Noble Frankland, a military historian. His feature article began: "For the first time since the 1930's pacifism in its various manifestations is re-emerging as a factor in public opinion."

Among the "preliminary symptoms" he includes Sir Stephen's book. Because of the present situation it "will probably receive, and perhaps rightly so, more attention than its actual content would otherwise merit."

Mr. Frankland admits that "A military strategy which can lead to victory for none and may lead to destruction, or worse than destruction for all is not defensive and hardly strategic."

Many do not share the "balance of terror" policy which is "the declared faith of the British Government and the official Labour Opposition."

One does not "have to be cynical, expert or even pessimistic" to see that plans for international agreements on arms and war "could not, whatever else they might do, make the slightest difference to the main problem and the danger of the nuclear stalemate."

In this situation, Sir Stephen's proposals "whether they command support or not, deserve to be differentiated from those of the ordinary run of solution-mongers."

The training of the British people "for passive resistance and for moral offensive" would, however, "be liable to produce a most un-British way of life."

Mr. Noble thinks that Sir Stephen has taken a too heroic view of human nature, and that "Perhaps, after all, the British way of life may have a better, or at least a longer, prospect under the admittedly dangerous conditions of the nuclear stalemate than under those of the suggested aggressive moral war against the Communist ideology."

## MANCHESTER GUARDIAN

A LONG feature article by "A. H." —presumably H. Alastair Hetherington, the Editor—appeared in the Manchester Guardian (March 10).

Each of Sir Stephen's proposals—to abandon the H-bomb unilaterally, to conduct active political warfare, and to prepare for non-violent resistance in case of occupation—has merits and each has defects."

Renouncing the H-bomb, "though it would lessen the risk of total war, cannot wholly remove it." By ending the American alliance, "it would make Soviet occupation of Western Europe and Britain highly probable."

"Political warfare" may be "valuable in spreading democratic ideas eastwards. And, if combined with the social vitality that renders a country unripe for subversion, it could make Britain a prickly prospect for Soviet occupiers. But it falls short of being the 'deterrent in another form' that Sir Stephen suggests."

Concerning non-violent defence, the reviewer asks "can democratic ideas survive the destruction of parliamentary government, of an independent judiciary, and of a free press?"

On non-co-operation: "The idea is noble but how long can people hold out? The parallels that Sir Stephen draws with Indian and Irish experience are not valid, because at Westminster there was a strong and articulate opposition to repressive policies; there will be none in Moscow."

"Parallels with Norway are invalid because its people always had the hope of liberation, and with the Ruhr because the remainder of Germany was not occupied."

"Resistance in Britain would call for still greater moral and physical stiffness than in any of these, and for its maintenance through two or three generations."

Sir Stephen's claim that the Bomb is not effective as a deterrent is challenged. If the possession of nuclear weapons is confined to Russia and the US—especially if there is a separation of military forces in

## "Defence in the Nuclear Age"

By Commander Sir STEPHEN KING-HALL

Europe—the risk of war will be reduced, the "real risk of a small nuclear war setting off a big one will come when many nations have these weapons as a 'poor man's defence.'

"To prevent that proliferation, the most practical course is for Britain to offer to renounce her bombs."

This policy—different from Sir Stephen's—would not be inconsistent with continued American protection, especially as the US has never expressed eagerness for Britain to have her own bombs.

"The risk of this policy is that the United States may return to isolationism when long-range rockets free her from the need for overseas bases. In that event, non-violent resistance could offer an alternative defence. Here is the chief value of Sir Stephen's book."

## DAILY MIRROR

CASSANDRA in the Daily Mirror (March 11) wrote that while he favoured banning all work on H-bomb rocket sites in Britain, he opposed the complete banning of the H-bomb by Britain alone because it "would do nothing but encourage all those who disagree and would remain in possession of it." It was needed as a deterrent.

Giving "the Russians notice that we prefer enslavement to suicide . . . would encourage them to impose their monstrous Communist régime on these islands exactly when it suited them."

Discussion of "what to do in Britain in the Grand Resistance under Mr. Krushchev's butchers" would "delight and encourage General Serov . . ."

"Don't let's discuss and prepare for the servitude of this country before it arrives."

## NEW STATESMAN

THE New Statesman's reviewer (March 15) Michael Howard (lecturer on military history at King's College) remarks that Sir Stephen's "critical intelligence, resolute political courage and independence, and an original, slightly mischievous cast of mind" are better qualifications than "the most scintillating staff-college record" for analysing the problem of nuclear armaments.

Nevertheless, as the publishers have presented the book as a "sober military appreciation" the book must be judged as such.

Mr. Howard rejects "Sir Stephen's thesis as being as inapplicable to the nuclear as to any other age." He then criticised him on three points: the British way of life is dependent on armed power; the Russians could accomplish their objectives without occupation; and some of Sir Stephen's thinking about the future is naive.

Our 'way of life' must . . . be defended, not simply by the preservation of its institutions and ideas, but by maintaining the social conditions out of which they have grown; and the social conditions which make it possible for 50 million people to inhabit these islands in relative amity depend on an immensely complex web of world-wide financial and commercial 'interests' which involve us in numberless problems of international politics where our possession of armed (though not necessarily nuclear) power is a matter of some significance. This is a crucial aspect of the 'defence of our way of life,' but Sir Stephen nowhere examines it."

On the probable by-passing of actual occupation: "Why should the Russians want to occupy us? In 'peacetime' they could create chaos and misery here by the disruption of our overseas interests. In war their submarines could eliminate us as a power without our catching sight of a Russian soldier; and how does one 'passively resist' a submarine? Democracy, however sedulously propagated, seldom survives in conditions of starvation and economic collapse."

Sir Stephen's projection of "a besieged Britain living on its own resources, the centre of world attention . . . and a re-

naissance of national purpose and unity far exceeding those stirring days . . . when Great Britain stood alone after Dunkirk" is dismissed as not the type of exercises by which "sane policies are evolved in the field of defence or anything else."

## TRIBUNE

MICHAEL Foot in Tribune (March 14) wrote "... King-Hall argues his case for passive resistance with great force, presenting, first, the claim that such planned resistance could provide a better deterrent than the nuclear deterrent, and second, the idea that it offers a means of survival, if the deterrent fails.

"However, I cannot help feeling that his picture of the world problems with which we have to deal is presented in too harsh and dogmatic terms.

"For example, he rejects altogether the conception of 'peaceful co-existence' between the great powers and, by doing so, appears to minimise the possibility that any worthwhile advance can be obtained by high-level diplomatic negotiation."

Mr. Foot calls the book "the most devastating exposure yet published of the British Government's defence strategy."

The "facts, arguments and original thoughts" in the book "deserve to be pondered deeply by everyone engaged in the greatest of all debates."

## NEWS CHRONICLE

NEWS Chronicle feature writer Frank Barber lashed out at Bertrand Russell and Philip Toynbee as well as Commander King-Hall in a blistering feature article entitled "Sir Stephen has plans—if Britain is occupied" (March 14).

Barber declared that "the first casualty of the hydrogen bomb has been our powers of reason." He ridiculed Sir Stephen's proposal that by total disarmament—nuclear and conventional—Britain would gain "political and moral force."

He dismissed Sir Stephen's discussion of non-violent resistance, saying, "Honestly, it is hard to take this seriously."

The fate of the Baltic States and other minority nationalities under Soviet rule must be remembered, Barber wrote.

"If we abandoned our alliances, military and economic occupation would be certain. The Bomb, however, is a risk and no more," he insisted.

Spending money on "propaganda to destroy Communism" was likely, he wrote, to arrest the changes in Russia towards its "getting better."

## THE STAR

THE Star (March 10), after a summary of some of Sir Stephen's main points, said:

"Many will not agree with Sir Stephen's views and conclusions, but they will be very interested in his approach to a subject causing widespread anxiety today."

## THE TIMES LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

THE Times Literary Supplement (March 14) in a highly critical review said "his timely tract may stimulate thought . . ." and that "his book can be judged only as a more or less effective piece of pamphleteering."

Sir Stephen's statement that the abandonment of nuclear weapons "leads to an abandonment of conventional forces" is quoted in support of the reviewer's statement:

"This is . . . a pamphlet in favour of unilateral disarmament with the aim of substituting political warfare for weapons and it claims that this is the only way open to us to preserve our way of life and the institutions we cherish."

"Going through the thought barrier,"

puts readers "in the mental world that has hitherto been the exclusive area of the pacifist."

The section on "Defence Without Arms" is the least convincing section of the book, it continues. The reviewer concludes:

"Before allying himself with the high-minded publicity seekers who are conducting the present disarmament campaign, Sir Stephen might reflect that the pacifist case has yet to be proved. It has so far been better to fight for your freedom than to be occupied, and successive occupations have destroyed nations as effectively as bombs."

"Peace has been maintained over long periods by the balance of power; and it is sad that a man of Sir Stephen's influence and ability should now seek to upset it in favour of our enemies."

## DAILY WORKER

THE Daily Worker attacked "Defence in the Nuclear Age" in their editorial on March 11.

It charged that Tories who say the choice is between "Russian occupation" and "the nuclear deterrent" are being helped . . . by some people active in the campaign against the hydrogen bomb" making specific reference to Sir Stephen's statement that he regarded a Russian occupation a lesser "of two great evils" than "Britain a smoking charnel house."

This was, said the Daily Worker, "a false alternative." "The choice," it continued, "is between the present policy of preparation for nuclear war and a sane policy of peaceful co-existence. . . Those who talk about a Russian occupation are, in fact, rejecting the policy of peaceful co-existence" which should "only" come by "agreement between all the Great Powers."

Neither Sir Stephen's proposal for unilateral nuclear disarmament nor non-violent resistance were mentioned in the editorial.

## THE TIMES

THE reviewer in The Times (March 13) called it "a deeply honest, if misguided book" in an article headed "Bang or whimper?"

For facing a possible Russian occupation, he said, Sir Stephen proposes "various techniques of non-violent resistance which postulate a degree of restraint by the oppressed Britons that is hardly implicit in our rough island history."

If Sir Stephen, wrote the reviewer, "believes that the human race is too foolish to limit its conflicts, even to avoid suicide, why does he assume that a section of it is sensible enough to accept the greater restraints involved in passive resistance?"

## DAILY HERALD

THE Herald's reviewer (March 10), summarising Sir Stephen's views, in a strictly descriptive article wrote:

"We should disarm unilaterally, and substitute what we believe to be a more effective kind of defence."

"The object of the new and bloodless warfare would be 'to change the enemy's mind.' The method would be to let him, if necessary, overrun and occupy this country, rather than obliterate it."

"Then the highly trained Psychological Defence Service, backed by hundreds of thousands of devoted volunteers, would set to work on undermining the invaders' self-confidence and belief in themselves."

## DAILY TELEGRAPH

IN The Daily Telegraph's long review, Peregrine Worsthorne (March 10), after a careful summary of Sir Stephen's proposals for disarmament and defence by non-violent resistance, calls his proposal "plain moonshine."

"I just do not see the peoples of Western Europe, or of Britain, being able to deal with a Soviet invasion in the way Sir Stephen suggests."

Would the Indonesians, Saudi Arabians, Malays or Nigerians also be expected to resist Soviet dominion by "passive means," he asks.

The result, Mr. Worsthorne continues, would be "a Soviet and Chinese sphere of

● ON BACK PAGE

FRANK ALLAUN, M.P., comments on King-Hall's book\*

## There can be co-existence

The writer is the (Labour) Member of Parliament for Salford East. Formerly a correspondent for the Manchester Evening News and the Daily Herald, he was editor of Labour's Northern Voice. He has also been a youth organiser for the Workers' Educational Association. His publications include "A Trade Unionist's Guide to Capitalism," "Your Trade Union and You," and the recent pamphlet "Stop the H-bomb Race."

The views of the British people about armed force are changing in a way they have never done before. This is largely due to the emergence of nuclear weapons and the realisation that they cannot be used without inviting retaliation and hence suicide.

The man who is partly responsible for bringing this home to the public is Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall. He is a man of small physical stature but with a big brain.

His brilliance lies in his ability to carry an idea through to its logical conclusion, however disturbing—indeed revolutionary it may be. In "Defence in the Nuclear Age" he proves that violence is no longer a feasible method.

### DANGEROUS MISTAKE

I regret to say, however, that I disagree strongly with one of his pleas. While arguing in favour of damping down the hot war he is enthusiastic about intensifying the cold war. He derides the idea of peace co-existence between East and West as illusory. In fact, he goes so far as to describe it as "hypocrisy."

This is a dangerous mistake. Surely if you hot up the cold war you may easily turn it into the military warfare which King-Hall wishes to avoid.

When I put this to him in a brief talk in Westminster recently he said that ultimate peaceful co-existence was impossible. Why? Didn't the apparent impossibility of co-existence between Protestant and Catholic countries later come about? So it can be between East and West.

### Defence in the Nuclear Age

David Ennals, Secretary of the United Nations Association explains for Peace News

## WHERE UNA STANDS

### in the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament

SUPPORT for nuclear disarmament is spreading like wild-fire throughout the country. Patrol flights of planes, nuclear weapons, plans for building missile sites in Britain, new test explosions in the Soviet Union—all these have brought home to people the fantastic dangers of the arms race.

Coupled with these developments is the frightening prospect that other countries may soon have nuclear weapons at their disposal.

**Negotiations to end arms race**  
To the pacifist the issues are simple. We should rid ourselves of these weapons along with all other means of war. At the other end of the scale there are those who believe our security lies in increasing killing power. In between public opinion is further divided.

A growing number who are not pacifist believe that Britain should at least quit the

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March 21, 1958—PEACE NEWS—9

## Peace News in South Africa

# WORLD PROTESTS AGAINST BAN

Many organisations and individuals throughout the world have protested about the banning of Peace News by the South African Government. Readers in South Africa who are attempting to beat the ban, which was announced in Peace News on Jan. 3, risk a fine of £1,000.

Protests in response to a call from the War Resisters' International have come from sections in Norway, Denmark, Germany, France and the United States and from pacifist organisations in Finland, Australia and Britain.

**T**HE National Council of Folkereising Mot Krig, the Norwegian section of the War Resisters' International, has written to the South African legation in Stockholm (there being no representative in Oslo):

"As the Government in the Union of South Africa has banned this newspaper, it must be understood that it deals with matters that cannot stand the light of day.

"This must be taken as a sign of bad conscience in the Government as to its policy, otherwise it would not have feared an open debate on those questions which are of vital importance to the citizens of the country.

"Folkereising Mot Krig wants hereby to direct a strong protest to the Government of the Union of South Africa because it has thus gagged freedom of expression."

### Human ideals

*Aldrig mere Krig*, the Danish section of the War Resisters' International, has sent a letter of protest to the South African Government.

*Pacifisten*, the monthly organ of *Aldrig mere Krig* and *Folkereising mot Krig*, has asked all readers to protest.

The Freiburg/Br. Group of *Internationale der Kriegsdiensstgegner*, the German section of the War Resisters' International, have protested about the banning to the representative in Cologne of the South African Government.

André and Magda Trocmé, of the French Fellowship of Reconciliation, have written to the South African Ambassador in Paris saying that they have learned of the ban "with sadness." "We regret this very much because for years we have realised the value of Peace News."

The Peace League of Finland has written to the South African Government that they "deeply . . . regret" the ban on

inconsistent with democratic principles. On behalf of the United States branch of the War Resisters' International . . . I urge this ban be rescinded without delay."

In England, Alfred Tucker has written to the High Commissioner for South Africa in London: "As the international pacifist weekly, this paper (of which I am an ordinary reader) gives information about work for peace everywhere, and this should be of the greatest interest to the inhabitants of the Union.

"It seems to me almost incredible that a country which claims to be part of the 'free world' should thus besmirch its record and deprive its citizens of the opportunity of informing themselves."

Other protests have also been sent by individuals in Britain and Switzerland.

### I.L.P. resolution against ban

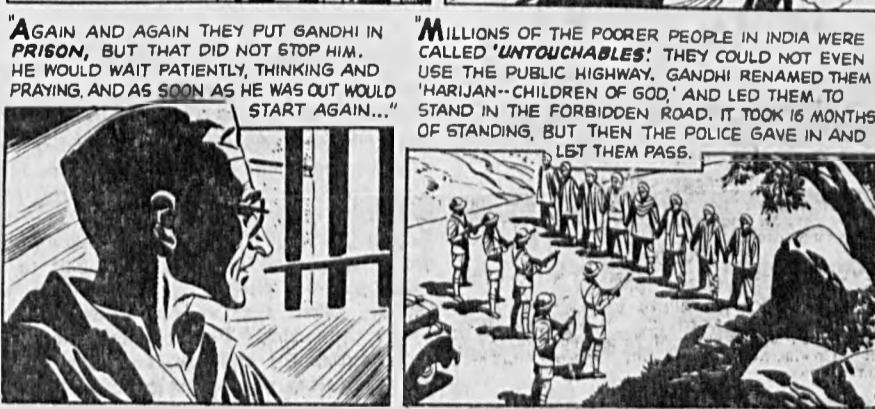
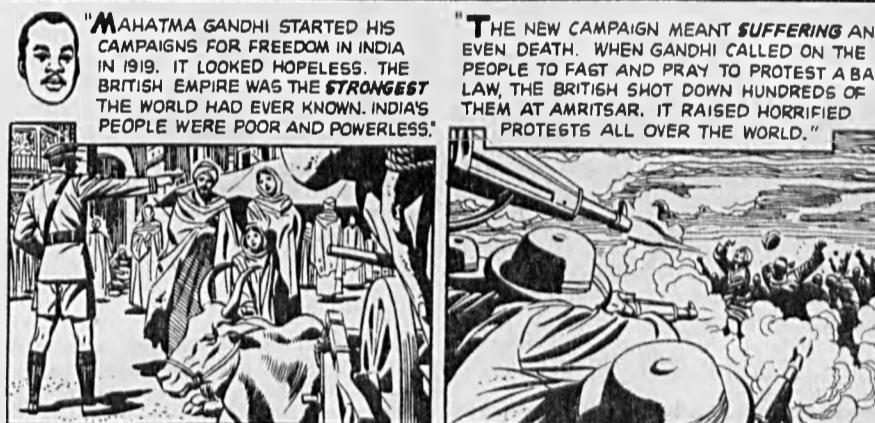
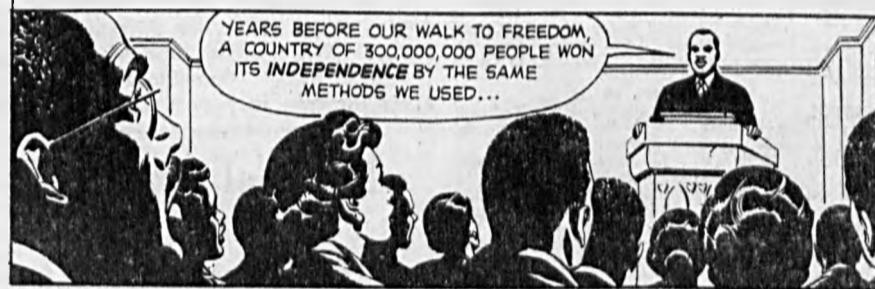
**T**HE Annual Conference of the London and Southern Counties Division of the Independent Labour Party, meeting in London at the Keir Hardie Hall, Plaistow, passed unanimously the following resolution: "This conference expresses its condemnation of the decision of the South African Government to ban Peace News from South Africa, and asks all lovers of freedom to demand that the ban be removed."

## THE MONTGOMERY STORY

10.

The Negroes of the city of Montgomery, Alabama, have won their non-violent struggle against segregation on the buses. Now their leader, Negro minister Martin Luther King, tells them more about the Montgomery method.

### MARTIN LUTHER KING TELLS HOW A NATION WON ITS FREEDOM BY THE MONTGOMERY METHOD



Prepared by the Al Capp Organisation for the US Fellowship of Reconciliation. The complete story in booklet form is being distributed at 10 cents each in the USA: Box 271, New York, N.Y.

## DIARY

As this is a free service we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to: 1. Send notices to arrive not later than Mon. a.m. 2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

**Friday, March 21**  
NORWICH: 7.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Goat Lane. Stuart Morris on "Peace and the H-Bomb." PPU.

**Saturday, March 22**  
LONDON: 2.45 p.m.; Assemble at Gaumont Cinema, Cricklewood Broadway, N.W.2, for Poster Parade, organised by Golders Green & Willesden Committee for Nuclear Disarmament. Miss Margaret J. Hinching, Hon. Sec.

LOWESTOFT: 2.30 p.m. Flat 1, The Towers, London Road South. Informal gathering. Stuart Morris. All welcome. PPU.

**Saturday-Sunday, March 22-23**  
WESTON-SUPER-MARE: 3 p.m.; Milford Lodge Hotel. Week-end Conference. "A Pacifist Social Philosophy." Guest Speaker: Allen Skinner. Programme includes "Any Questions," a debate and talks. Western Area PPU. Details from: Ron Barnes, 4 Grange Drive, Bridgwater.

**Sunday, March 23**  
LONDON: 3.30 p.m.; 32 Tavistock Sq., Euston, W.C.1. Pacifist Universalist Service. Discourse: Rev. L. J. Bliss, "The Christian and Nuclear War."

WILMSLOW: Cheshire: 2.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Altringham Road. Film: "Children of Hiroshima." Admission free and all welcome.

**LONDON, W.C.1: 3 p.m.**; Lounge, Iyanhoe Hotel, Gt. Russell St. First lecture in "Non-violence and Social Change" series: "The Types of Non-violence." Gene Sharp, M.A. Free admission; collection. The 1957 Committee

**Monday, March 24**  
HULL: 7.30 p.m.; 6 Bond St. Business AGM (held now as first Friday in April is Good Friday). Hull Group PPU.

**SOUTHAMPTON: 7.30 p.m.**; Friends' Meeting House, Ordnance Rd. Discussion on "Nuclear Disarmament and the Pacifist," introduced by Roland Bowden (Chichester). Southampton Group PPU.

**TWICKENHAM: 8 p.m.**; York House. H-bomb: Meeting to support The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. Speakers: Miles Malleson, Dr. E. H. Burhop, Dr. P. Hugh-Jones, R. E. K. Catterall, L. R. Woodward.

**Tuesday, March 25**  
LONDON: 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1. Meeting: London Area PPU. At 6.30 p.m. Records. All welcome.

**LONDON: 8 p.m.**; Kensington Town Hall. Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. Public Meeting. Speakers: Doris Lessing, James Cameron, Wayland Young, Dr. D. G. Arnott, Canon L. J. Collins. Tickets 6d. and s.a.e. from Peggy Smith, 41 Courtfield Rd., S.W.7. Organised by Kensington & Chelsea Group.

**Wednesday, March 26**  
LEEDS, 3: 7.30 p.m. Woodsley Road. AGM of the Leeds Central Committee: all members are urged to attend. PPU.

**LONDON: 7.30 p.m.**; Anson Hall, Chichele Rd., Willesden, N.W.10. "H-bombs over Willesden?" Speakers: Maurice Orbach, MP; Dr. Horace Joules; Morris Kaufman, BSC. Chairman—Alderman R. Fresen. Adm. 6d. Golders Green & Willesden Committee, Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

**Thursday, March 27**  
LONDON: 8.0 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Bush Road, E.11. Group Discussion. E.10 and E.11 PPU.

**LONDON: 8.15 p.m.**; Friends' Meeting House, 120 Heath St., N.W.3. Hampstead PPU members are attending meeting of the Council of Christians and Jews—Speaker: Herbert G. Wood on "I Believe in God"—and cancelling own meeting.

**WOLVERHAMPTON: 7.30 p.m.**; Central Library. Town Meeting: "Nuclear Energy—for Life or Death?" Speaker: Reginald Sorensen, MP; Chairman: Rev. Donald James. Adm. free. Questions. Sec. of Organising Committee: F. Wilson, 15 Goldthorn Ave.

**Friday, March 28**  
BRISTOL: 7 p.m.; 8 Fairhaven Rd., Redland. Speaker: Francis Jude, Field Secretary, Friends' Peace Committee. Bristol Central PPU.

**LONDON: 10.30 a.m., 12 noon and 1.30 p.m.**; Wilton Crescent, Knightsbridge. London Area Council, Movement for Colonial Freedom, picket of offices of French Military Attaché. "Save Djamil Bouhired" Campaign.

**PLYMOUTH: 7.30 p.m.**; New Room, Central Hall, Saltash St. "Any Questions" on Rocket Bases, H-bomb, Disarmament, Unemployment. Speakers: Max Parker, Fred Moorhouse, BSC. Chairman: Rev. Molland, B.A. For.

**Saturday, March 29**  
EPSOM: 2.45 p.m. 3 St. Martin's Avenue. H-bomb protest poster parade, leaflet distribution and canvassing for signatures. Epsom and District Peace Fellowship with Dorking friends. Sec.: Ailsa Duncan, 55 Culverhay, Ashtead, Surrey.

**HASTINGS: 7.30 p.m.**; Friends' Meeting House, South Terrace, S.E. Area Meeting. Household and produce "Bring and Buy" Stall. Tea provided—bring own food to pool, please. PPU.

**HASTINGS: 7.30 p.m.**; Friends' Meeting House, South Terrace. Open Forum. Panel: Minnie Pallister, Stuart Morris, MA, Councillor J. Paterson, Bryant—Prospective Labour Candidate; Chairman: Clare Sheridan. PPU.

**LIVERPOOL: 3.30 p.m.**; Friends' Meeting House, Hunter St. An Exploration: "Survival for Peace." The Toldas Group.

**LONDON: 12.15 to 9.0 p.m.**; Steenoven House, 16 Aberdeen Road, Highgate, N.5. Quarterly Day of Prayer for Peace. Public Meeting: "Youth Looks at the World." Please order lunch (3s.) in advance. All welcome.

## Every week!

## SUNDAYS

**LONDON: 3 p.m.**; Hyde Park, Speakers' Corner. Pacifist Forum.

**SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS**  
LONDON: Weekend Workcamps, cleaning and redecorating the homes of old-age pensioners. IVS, 72 Oakley Sq., London, N.W.1.

**TUESDAYS**  
MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m.; Deansgate Blitz She. Christian pacifist open-air mfg. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPF.

**THURSDAYS**  
LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends' Mtg. Hs., Bush Road, E.10 and E.11 Group. PPU.

**LONDON, W.C.1: 1.20-1.40 p.m.**; Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen Sq., Southampton Row. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by Clergy and laymen of different denominations.

**FRIDAYS**  
BIRMINGHAM: 5 p.m. onwards: Bull Street Meeting House (outside) Peace News Selling.

## ONE MAN'S WORK FOR PEACE

"AM I doing enough for Peace?" A portrait

Many readers have asked themselves that question, and more ought to. Donald Ward asked it after reading an article by Dr. Soper, and decided that the answer was "No." That was how he became a really full-time Peace News voluntary worker.

The first action he took was, in co-operation with two other readers, to order and distribute one thousand copies of Peace News in his own district. As well as this, he persuaded the local newsagent to take display copies, which he guarantees to pay for if unsold. It may not sound very spectacular, but what an effect it would have if even a hundred others would do the same.

★

But Donald Ward's conscience wasn't easily satisfied. His next self-appointed task was selling Peace News outside one of London's main line railway stations. When he had some unsold copies, he found that he was able to get rid of them in the large Government building in which he works. Soon he found that he could sell all his stock to his fellow workers, and as time went on his sales increased from a dozen copies to 18.

Donald Ward has very definite ideas about the kind of salesmanship needed to get new readers for Peace News. He believes that a sense of humour is an asset, especially in making new contacts. And, in his opinion, contacts are even more important than sales. As well as getting new readers and making contacts, he also writes regularly for the local trade union magazine, contributing character sketches and articles about trade unionism and peace.

★

The character sketches which he writes provide a clue to Donald Ward's own character. He is a believer in the essential goodness of men, and he is constantly looking for undiscovered beauty in the characters of the people around him. Like Abou Ben Adhem, he could say: "Write me as one who loves his fellow men." Sometimes he expresses his thoughts in poetry. Here is a verse

## Tribunal considers unusual case

"THIS is rather an unusual case, but we see it would be impossible for him to go into the Army," said the Chairman of the London Tribunal for Conscientious Objectors, Sir Gerald Hargreaves, when John Moore, of Mitcham, Surrey, appeared before him on February 14.

John Moore is a member of the Order of the Cross. This organisation, he told the Tribunal, was concerned with purity of living, purity of mind, and purity of soul. It endeavoured by example and teaching to win all men to the love of Truth, Purity and Right-doing.

Members protested against, and worked for the abolition of, all national and social customs which violate the teachings of Christ, especially such as involve bloodshed, the oppression of the weak and defenceless, the perpetuation of the brutal mind, and the infliction of cruelty upon animals, viz., war, vivisection, the slaughter of animals for food, fashion and sport, and kindred evils.

Asked questions about the founding and organisation of the Order of the Cross, John Moore and his witness, Arthur Morris, said that the Order was founded by J. Todd Ferrier in 1904. There were groups all over the country, and new members had to be sponsored by people already within the Order. There were various sections set up within the order. For instance, there was a committee for children, and there was a section dealing with conscientious objectors.

John Moore was granted conditional exemption.



DONALD WARD

from his description of a Peace March in Oxford:

*We walked and watched men's faces changing,*

*Different faces, different eyes,  
And the slow disturbance of their thinking,*

*Convinced of wisdom, and yet still unwise.*

It is not easy to measure "results" for the kind of work that Donald Ward has been doing, but perhaps it is a token of his effectiveness that his local trade union branch passed unanimously a resolution condemning H-bomb manufacture, and calling for disarmament. Selling Peace News and talking to people about pacifism—these may not sound very exciting or important activities, but Donald Ward has proved that they can be. And they are the kind of activities that any reader of this paper could undertake. Now, what is *your* answer to the question "Am I doing enough for Peace?"

## Books to come

AMONG the books announced in the trade lists for publication before July are the following of interest to pacifists. We hope to review most of them in the paper when they are issued.

**Men Who Fought for Freedom**, by Egon Larsen (June, 15s.), describes for young people the lives of twelve men and women who have risked their lives for freedom; among them are William Penn and Gandhi.

**The Gandhi Reader**, edited by Homer Jack (45s.), follows the life of the Mahatma from birth to martyrdom, largely in his own words, and will make available for the first time in this country a large amount of new material.

**This is My Philosophy** (25s.) contains an expression by twenty of "the world's leading thinkers" of his approach to life, work and our present-day world; the contributors include Aldous Huxley, Albert Schweitzer, Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, Bertrand Russell, Jacques Maritain, Carl Jung and Paul Sartre.

**Challenge to Fear: The Alternative to the H-Bomb**, by Konni Zilliacus (June, 21s.), is an attempt to give a constructive alternative to the terror of the H-Bomb by replacing the arms race by negotiated settlements.

**Why So Angry?**, by Sir Richard Acland (16s.), tries to give a sympathetic and constructive reply to the problems of the angry young men.

**The Deep South Says Never** is the title of a survey by an American newspaper reporter, John Bartlow Martin, of the resistance in the Southern States of America to the desegregation of the races, and contains a disturbing analysis of what he considers the probable future course of events.

**The Treason Cage** (18s.) is about the South African treason trial and will appear in April to coincide with the commencement of the trials proper. It is by Anthony Sampson, formerly editor of "The Drum."

Those who enjoyed **The Friendly Persuasion** will no doubt want Jessamyn West's new book, **To See The Dream** (16s.). A novel by a one-time member of Peace News staff is **Pitfall**, by Frederick Oughton (18s.).

## CLASSIFIED

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# PHILIP TOYNBEE ■ FROM PAGE ONE

rather melodramatically, I'd say that I would much rather die after a Communist occupation of my country than before it. Rather than be uselessly atomised I would like to make whatever protest I could against the occupying forces and die with some small sense of a purpose achieved.

The more violent of our opponents accuse us of acting from motives of personal fear. Let me say here that I do not regard fear as a base emotion. To feel no fear in a fearful situation is to be sub-humanly stupid, not super-humanly brave. Everything depends on how we deal with our fear.

I will frankly admit that the present situation makes me afraid for my own skin. I don't want to die just yet. There are many, many things I should like to get done before my death.

But I hope and believe that I am at least as much afraid for my children and my friends, my country and my world, as I am for myself. We are made in such a way that we inevitably think first of our imme-

## Lectures begin Sunday

THE LECTURE SERIES "Non-violence and Social Change," by Gene Sharp, MA, Assistant Editor of Peace News, begins on Sunday in London.

The Rev. Michael Scott, Archbishop T. D. Roberts, Reginald Reynolds, Gwynfor Evans, J. Allen Skinner, John Banks and Ethel Mannin have strongly commended the series (letter on p. 11).

The series is sponsored by The 1957 Committee which was founded following a similar series by the lecturer in 1956.

The first two lectures will be held in the Lounge, Ivanhoe Hotel, Gt. Russell St., W.C.1 (near Tottenham Court Rd. station); others will vary between there and the Cambridge Room, Shaftesbury Hotel, Monmouth St., W.C.1, as indicated below.

The series, planned as a unity, includes these topics:

March 23—"The types of Non-violence" (Ivanhoe).

March 30—"The Contribution of M.K. Gandhi" (Ivanhoe).

April 13—"Aimlessness in Western Civilisation" (Shaftesbury).

April 20—"The Key to the Removal of War and Tyranny" (Shaftesbury).

April 27—"Mass Movements as an Answer to the Directionless Society" (Ivanhoe).

May 4—"The Emergent Philosophy: Non-violent Revolution" (Shaftesbury).

May 11—"Non-violent Resistance" (Ivanhoe).

May 18—A. "Unarmed Strategy"; B. "The Constructive Programme" (Shaftesbury).

June 1—"Freedom, Defence and Non-violent Resistance" (Ivanhoe).

June 8—"What of the Future?" (Shaftesbury).

The lectures are an hour or more in length. They will be held from 3 to 6 p.m., with tea provided at 1s. 6d. Admission is free and there will be a collection to defray expenses.

## Campaign to hear Cameron

JAMES CAMERON, Doris Lessing, Wayland Young, Dr. D. G. Arnott and Canon L. J. Collins are the speakers for a public meeting at Kensington Town Hall on March 25 at 8 p.m.

Tickets for the meeting, organised by the Kensington and Chelsea group of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, are available (6d. and s.a.e.) from Peggy Smith, 41 Courtfield Rd., London, S.W.7.

NEXT WEEK: An article on "Defence in the Nuclear Age," by John Banks, the views of Rear-Admiral Buzzard on an unarmed defence enquiry, and a summary of Capt. Liddell Hart's review of Sir Stephen's book.

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diate circle and surroundings. I think of the destruction of Suffolk, London and Oxford far more vividly than I am able to think of the destruction of the Crimea, Omsk or Moscow.

But if, in a purely hypothetical situation, I could ensure the safety of this country by launching rockets on Russia I would not dream of doing so.

Our natural love for those who are dear to us must be imaginatively reinforced by a moral awareness of the millions who are remote from us. In fact, we should try to be afraid for the Russians as well as for ourselves—and this, as it happens, is made all the easier for us by the fact that in the present situation all our fates are tightly bound together.

## If we are occupied

I see nothing brave or heroic in a continuation of the arms race. The brave thing to do, surely, is to renounce these wicked weapons because they are wicked, and to do so in the full knowledge of the risk that we are taking.

If our policy is accepted and if the worst that is possible were to come from it we shall need all the courage we have to face the new situation with honour and usefulness.

Should the Russians occupy us, and should they behave towards us as they have behaved in other occupied countries we would have, as individuals, to say no. Asked to betray a friend, or to write a lie, we will refuse.

If enough of us refused we would make it impossible for the occupiers to continue with that kind of policy.

But many, many people will be killed for their refusals. I would prefer to be one of those—and hope that I might have the courage to be one of them—rather than to be one of the millions of useless victims of nuclear warfare.

## American march ■ FROM PAGE ONE

speakers. Activities will continue through Easter Sunday.

A. J. Muste is chairman of the Walk for Peace Committee, and sections of the American Friends Service Committee, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Peacemakers, War Resisters' League, and Women's International League for Peace and Freedom are co-operating with a national committee of prominent theologians, ministers, teachers and pacifists.

## SPANISH C.O. FOR MEXICO

JOACHIM PEREZ-SELLS, 24-year-old Spanish refugee war resister, is to receive asylum in Mexico. Earlier his proposed deportation to Spain had been debated in the House of Commons. The united pressure of the Labour Party obtained a postponement of the deportation pending efforts to obtain asylum elsewhere.

The Home Office has agreed to the arrangement. Bolivia also had offered to allow him in.

Fenner Brockway, MP, who has devoted considerable efforts on the case, told Peace News: "We have to raise about £250 for fares, etc." About £60 have already been received, including £5 from an elderly night watchman who was withdrawing it from his savings. Contributions may be sent to Fenner Brockway, MP, House of Commons, London, S.W.1.

## ALDERMASTON MARCH TO THE EDITOR

ON Easter Monday, a Wessex March is taking place to join the last day of the Aldermaston March on the Reading-Aldermaston road.

Transport will be organised from all towns en route which will allow the necessary distances to be covered in the time available and allow older people to take part.

The aim is for all convoys of cars, etc., from the west to assemble in Salisbury Market Place by 10 a.m. A short meeting will be followed by linking up with Andover at 11 a.m., where another very short meeting will be held and at Newbury at 12.15 p.m. by which time we will have

## THE FACTS OF DEATH

We are not prepared to be panicked by the Liberals or pacifists or people who say: "It is too terrible to defend our country; we will lie down until the enemy come . . ." There are a number of people with real pacifist views who believe in disarmament and in refusing to fight, and who make it a decision of conscience. But they exploit all the timid people, "the people who let Hitler in." We had it before the war when the timid people idealised their views and joined the pacifists because they thought they could evade the facts of life.

—Sir David Eccles, President of the Board of Trade, March 15, 1958.

SIR DAVID ECCLES, in spite of his determination not to panic, seems, nevertheless, to have slightly lost his head, though it is, perhaps, understandable that his mind should be confused on the subject of pacifism, Liberalism, and these strange un-named people who, he says, want "to lie down till the enemy come."

The Press, also apparently in a panic, continues to pour out statements about pacifism, peace ballots, Oxford University resolutions and 'appeasement', seldom troubling to publish the letters which are written in an attempt to clear up the confusion. It is not, therefore, altogether surprising if Ministers of State have not time, and possibly no inclination, to try to sort it all out.

The idea that pacifists, to whom Sir David offers the now familiar sop of comprehending their sincerity, are timid people and draw to their ranks others, not convinced pacifists, who are afraid, is pathetic and indeed puerile in its lack of understanding, and sinister in its deliberate misinterpretation.

It is not stated in what way pacifism can shelter the timid, since the refusal to take part in war requires a resolute stand against the stream of public opinion, and also against the laws of conscription in this country. Moreover, anything in the nature of non-violent resistance to an enemy requires courage and fortitude of a high order. No place there for the timid!

No doubt, however, the implication of Sir David's rather incoherent remarks, is his belief, or his intention to assert, that pacifists wished to "appease" Hitler and by so doing brought about the very conflict they desired to avoid.

Perhaps he has forgotten that it was not a pacifist who went to visit Hitler at Munich, but a Conservative Prime Minister, who can scarcely be labelled pacifist, since during his term of office expenditure on armaments rose by £320,000,000, and his policy of negotiation backed by armaments was no different from the present British foreign policy.

Perhaps he has also forgotten that Britain was among those nations which refused to accept a Russian proposal in 1928, at one of the preparatory disarmament conferences, that all should agree to abolish the bombing aeroplane.

As the H-bombers fly overhead and the nuclear missile bases are built to blot and blemish the beauty of the British countryside, British statesmen might well look back in shame, not to the pacifists who were demanding the abolition of war, but to the British delegate at that conference who stated that Britain needed the bombing aeroplane for the protection of her Imperial frontiers.

The decision taken in the last war to try for victory through mass attack upon helpless civilians was the direct outcome, and the inexorably logical conclusion, of the refusal to abandon the bombing aeroplane.

linked up with Winchester and Portsmouth contingents at Whitchurch. Groups travelling from the Bristol direction will meet us at Newbury Market Place. We will join the main march about 1 p.m.

May we urge everyone interested in taking part in this great national demonstration to write immediately to me at 4 Earls Road, Amesbury, Wilts., so that organisation may proceed as quickly as possible. Cars especially are urgently needed as are organisers in some towns and villages. Time is very short.

If you live west of Basingstoke and south of Bristol, please write NOW, on Friday and go ahead organising locally—AUSTIN UNDERWOOD, Organiser, Wessex March.

By Sybil Morrison

and the continued reliance upon the method of war.

If Sir David Eccles would himself examine the facts of life in the nuclear age he might discover that the strong upsurge of public opinion against nuclear weapons is fear, not of the facts of life, but of the facts of death in a holocaust of total annihilation.

There is nothing shameful, nor particularly timid in this very natural reaction, but fear is an unstable and unconstructive emotion. Pacifists are human beings and may well be afraid, but there is nothing timid, nor equivocal, in their refusal to kill. All men must die, but no man need be forced to kill.

When Sir David understands this perhaps he will also understand that pacifism is not a creed where the timid may find shelter, but a faith where the committed may find strength. It is in that strength that mankind will eventually come to the abandonment of the use of force.

## Review of the reviews

### TELEGRAPH ■ FROM PAGE 8

influence that could dominate Western Europe without firing a shot.

"The Soviet Union, in short, would in all likelihood be able to bring Western Europe to her knees without invasion."

In case of invasion, the reviewer thought that Britons after a "prolonged economic siege" would be in no mood "to put far-reaching plans for passive resistance into operation."

If the peoples of Western Europe are not now prepared for the needed sacrifices to raise large-scale conventional armies, he asks how could they "to-morrow be prepared to make the far more painful sacrifices he demands?"

The Russians would be far more ruthless than the British were against Gandhi.

"So the choice lies between Mr. Sandy's willingness to risk thermo-nuclear war and Sir Stephen's willingness to risk occupation. For my part, I choose the status quo."

The article concludes: "The country, however, owes Sir Stephen a real debt. By honestly allowing the logic of unilateral disarmament to carry him where it properly leads, he has unwittingly demonstrated its true nature and consequences. Unless we have all taken leave of our senses, his book should prove Mr. Sandy's most precious ally."

### THE LISTENER

IN The Listener (March 13), Richard Scott wrote that "many people are likely to find his analysis of the consequences of the use of nuclear weapons both logical and realistic, fewer will probably be persuaded that his proposals for meeting this new situation are politically practicable."

After discussing Sir Stephen's alternative to NATO—a European Treaty Organisation dedicated primarily to political and moral rather than military force—Mr. Scott comments that fewer people are likely to be convinced of Sir Stephen's proposed policy of organising non-violent resistance in an "elaborate, government-organised and nation-wide programme . . . which could be put into operation the moment the Soviet forces landed on our shores."

This appears to Mr. Scott in "the realm of fantasy" but he concludes that the book is "a serious contribution to any discussion of what is probably the most perplexing and appalling problem with which the modern world has been faced."

## EASTER MARCH TO

### ALDERMASTON

The Direct Action Committee against Nuclear War invites you to join in a **FOUR DAY FIFTY MILE EASTER MARCH** to the Aldermaston Atomic Weapons Research Establishment as a protest against the production of nuclear weapons.

The route and schedule for the march will be as follows:-

Good Friday - marchers will assemble at 11 a.m. in Trafalgar Square, where there will be a short act of repentance for suffering caused in the past by our dropping and testing of nuclear bombs and dedication to the struggle against further production of atomic and hydrogen weapons. Philip Toynbee, Harold and Sheila Steele and Frank Allaun M.P. will be on the plinth. Setting off from Trafalgar Square at 11.30, a march of about ten miles, with breaks for lunch and tea, should bring us to Hounslow by 7 p.m., where we shall hold an evening rally.

Saturday - re-assemble at Bell Corner, Hounslow Broadway at 10 a.m. and march through Colnbrook and Slough, reaching Maidenhead by the early evening, where another rally will be held.

Easter Sunday - the assembly point will be Maidenhead station yard. Marchers will set off at 10 a.m. and march via Knowl Hill to Reading for a further evening meeting.

Bank Holiday Monday - re-assemble at St. Mary's Butts at 9.50 a.m. and march on to Aldermaston for a final rally and demonstration.

It is hoped to arrange for tea to be supplied at stopping places along the route; also for rudimentary overnight shelter in huts. Marchers are recommended however to come equipped with food, eating utensils and mugs, and sleeping-bags or blankets. If there is a sufficiently large turnout of marchers, return transport from Aldermaston to Reading on Monday (early evening) will be arranged.

There will be a vigil at the main entrance to the plant day and night for a week following the Monday demonstration.

Please fill in this form and return it to:-  
The Secretary, Committee for Direct Action Against Nuclear War,  
3 Blackstock Rd., London N.4. (Tel: STA.2262)

I shall march all 4 days from Traf. Sq. to Aldermaston .....

I shall march on Friday from Traf. Sq. to Hounslow .....

I shall march on Saturday from Hounslow to Maidenhead .....

I shall march on Sunday from Maidenhead to Reading.....

I shall march on Monday from Reading to Aldermaston .....

I could offer First Aid services en route .....

I have a motor vehicle (specify what sort) for accompanying .....

I could perform in ..... produce ..... a band or choir

I could keep vigil at Aldermaston from ..... till ..... on .....

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I enclose ..... to help defray costs of leaflets etc.

Name ..... Address .....

PEACE NEWS CAMPAIGN BULLETIN.

19th. March, 1958..

Dear Friend,

"WHAT IS PACIFISM?" - a statement of policy and principles. Price 6d. (postage 2d.).

Pacifism is in the news, and increasingly recognised as the only logical and positive alternative to the present war-based policies. The Peace Pledge Union's new statement of our ideals and aims appears just when a clearer definition of pacifism is needed and when the large and growing opinion in favour of unilateral disarmament is compelling people, as King-Hall says, to 'break through the thought-barricr'.

We are therefore distributing "WHAT IS PACIFISM?" as a PEACE NEWS pamphlet. Distributors and subscribers receive their usual numbers, distributors who have no regular order are sent a specimen copy on sale-return. Further orders will be welcomed.

"DEFENCE IN THE NUCLEAR AGE", by Sir Stephen King-Hall, is now available from our Bookshop at 18s. (postage 2d.).

This week's enlarged PEACE NEWS contains further articles and comments on the book, and is a particularly valuable issue for distribution to all who are interested in the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. Extra supplies are available at 3s. a dozen (post free) or free distribution.

"THE MONTGOMERY STORY", the strip-cartoon account of Rev. Martin Luther King and the bus boycott - now being serialised in PEACE NEWS - is available from our Bookshop in the original U.S. coloured edition, price 5s. (postage 2d.).

"THE CAMPAIGN FOR NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT" is bringing many new opportunities for selling PEACE NEWS: please make sure local meetings are covered and do your best to contact local supporters to take PEACE NEWS. Street sellers are reporting encouraging new sales.

"THE ALDERMASTON MARCH" has received remarkable attention from the national press and looks like becoming an event of international significance. It has been organised from this office, and we are sending full particulars with this Bulletin. If you can possibly join in, we hope you will write for further details. Those who cannot march for 4 days are invited to join at any stage and particularly for the send-off from Trafalgar Square and the demonstration at Aldermaston.

"LITERATURE AND FREE LEAFLETS". Good supplies are available for campaigning activities, and we shall be glad to help in every way possible with your personal efforts.

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